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Translations and Reprints

FROM THE

# Original Sources of European History

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## THE FOURTH CRUSADE

Edited by

DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A.M.

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## I. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CRUSADE.

Taught by the experience of the earlier crusaders, the barons resolved to go by sea. Venice was the city that seemed most able to furnish sufficient vessels. Accordingly, Ville-Hardouin and five other ambassadors were sent to make a bargain with the Venetians. The official compact is given in full in *Muratori: Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. xii, 323, and in Bouquet: *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*, vol. xviii, 436. The most important difference between that and Ville-Hardouin's version is that, according to the compact, the expedition was to start on St. Peter and St. Paul's day.

For the events preliminary to the crusade, as well as for all the matters connected with it, consult Pears' excellent book, *The Fall of Constantinople*.

The second extract relates to one of the most hotly debated subjects connected with the crusade. Did Venice treacherously make a treaty with the sultan of Egypt? If she did, her conduct and the diversion of the crusade are more easily explained. Pears, pp. 263 ff, believes such a treaty was made, and quotes references to support his view. But Wailly, in a very able discussion, pp. 431 ff, brings out the difficulty in reconciling the dates, and endeavors to show that this *L'Estoire de Eracles* is entirely untrustworthy. Consult also Heyd: *Levantehandel*, I, 292 ff. and 440 ff.

The third extract is self-explanatory. Ville-Hardouin and Robert de Clari are the most important authorities for the fourth crusade. The first was one of the leaders and gave an official, "inspired" account. The second was one of the poorer knights and is especially useful as he told what the bulk of the army knew and thought, and enables us to check the statements of Ville-Hardouin.

1. *The compact with the Venetians.*

Ville-Hardouin: *Conquête de Constantinople*,<sup>1</sup> ch. iv, v, vi, Nos. 18, 24, 30. Old French.

18. "Sire, we have come to you in behalf of the noble barons of France who have taken the cross in order to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ and to reconquer Jerusalem, if God will permit. And because they know no people who are as able to assist them as you and your people, they pray you, for God's sake, to pity the land of *Outre-mer* and the shame of Jesus Christ, and to endeavor to furnish them transports and ships of war."

19. "Under what conditions?" asked the doge.

"Under any conditions that you may propose or advise, if they are able to fulfill them," replied the messengers.

"Certainly," replied the doge, [to his associates] "it is a great undertaking that they have asked of us and they seem to be considering an important matter;" [to the messengers] "we will give you an answer in a week, and do not wonder if the time seems long, for such a great undertaking deserves much thought."

<sup>1</sup> Second edition of Wailly.

20. At the time fixed by the doge, they returned to the palace. I can not tell you all that was said, but the conclusion of the conference was as follows:

"My lords," said the doge, "we will tell you what we have decided, if we can get the Grand Council and the people of the country to agree to it; and you shall decide whether you can fulfill your part.

21. "We will furnish *huissiers*<sup>1</sup> for carrying 4,500 horses and 9,000 esquires, and vessels for 4,500 knights and 20,000 foot-soldiers. The agreement shall be to furnish food for nine months for all these horses and men. That is the least that we will do, on condition that we are paid four marks per horse and two marks per man.

22. "And we will observe all these conditions which we explain to you, for one year, beginning the day we leave the harbor of Venice to fight in the service of God and of Christianity, wherever we may go. The sum of these payments indicated above amounts to 85,000 marks.<sup>2</sup>

23. "And we will do still more: we will add fifty armed galleys, for the love of God; on the condition that as long as our alliance shall last, of every conquest of land or money that we make, by sea or land, we shall have one-half and you the other. Now deliberate whether you can fulfill these conditions."

24. The messengers went away, saying that they would talk it over and reply the next day. They consulted and discussed that night and then resolved to agree to it. The next day they went to the doge and said: "Sire, we are ready to make this agreement." The doge said that he would speak to his people and tell them the result.

30. It was explained in council that they would go to Babylon,<sup>3</sup> because at Babylon they could do more injury to the Turks than anywhere else. And in public it was announced that they would go across the sea. It was then Lent [March, 1201], and on St. John's day the following year, the 1202nd year after the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the barons and pilgrims were to be at Venice and the vessels were to be ready on their arrival.

<sup>1</sup> *Huissiers* were vessels having a door, *huis*, in the stern, which could be opened so as to take in the horses. See Archer: *Crusade of Richard I.*, p. 49, note, and p. 57, note.

<sup>2</sup> According to Wailly, p. 452, this sum would be equal to 4,420,000 francs in silver.

<sup>3</sup> Cairo.

2. *Compact of the Venetians with the Sultan of Babylon.*

L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur, xxviii, 2, in Recueil des historiens des Croisades, hist. occ., II, 251-252. Old French.

[A. D. 1199?] After this he [the sultan of Babylon] summoned messengers and servants and sent them to Venice, loaded with great wealth and great riches. He sent them to the doge and gave beautiful presents to the Venetians, and commanded the latter, if they could do so, not to go to the land of Egypt; he would give them great treasures and many privileges in the port of Alexandria. The messengers went to Venice, did as they were commanded, and returned as quickly as possible.

3. *The crusaders unable to pay the Venetians.*

Robert de Clari: La Prise de Constantinople, xi and xii, in Hopf: Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, pp. 7-9. Old French.

XI. . . . While the pilgrims were staying on the island of St. Nicholas,<sup>1</sup> the doge of Venice and the Venetians went to speak to them and demanded the pay for the navy which had been prepared. And the doge said to them that they had acted wrongly in commanding through their messengers that vessels should be prepared for 4,000 knights and their equipment, and for 100,000 foot-soldiers. Of these 4,000 knights, there were not more than 1,000 present, for the others had gone to other ports. And of these 100,000 foot-soldiers there were not more than 50,000 or 60,000. "Nevertheless," said the doge, "we want you to pay us the sum which you promised." When the crusaders heard this, they debated and arranged that each knight should pay four marks and four marks for each horse, and each esquire two marks; and those who paid less, should pay one mark. When they collected this money, they paid it to the Venetians. But 50,000 marks still remained due.

When the doge and the Venetians saw that the pilgrims had not paid more, they were all so incensed that the doge said to the pilgrims: "My lords, you have imposed upon us shamefully. For, as soon as your messengers had made the agreement with me and my people, I issued orders throughout my whole land that no merchant should undertake a voyage, but all were to aid in preparing this fleet. They have been waiting ever since and have gained nothing for the last year and a half; and, accordingly, they have lost much. Therefore my

<sup>1</sup> The Lido.

men and I want you to pay us the money which you owe us. If you do not pay us, you shall not leave this island before we get our money; and no one shall bring you anything to eat or drink." The doge, however, was a very excellent man and did not prevent the people from bringing enough food and drink.

XII. When the count and the crusaders heard what the doge said they were much troubled and grieved. They made another collection and borrowed all the money they could from those who were thought to have any. They paid it all to the Venetians, but after this payment 36,000 marks still remained due. They said to the Venetians that they had been imposed upon; that the army was greatly impoverished by this last collection; that they could not pay any more money at all, for they had hardly enough to support the army.

When the doge perceived that they could not pay all the money and that they were in sore straits, he said to his people: "Sirs, if we let these people go back to their own country, we shall always be considered base and tricky. Let us go to them and say that, if they are willing to pay us the 36,000 marks which they owe us out of their part of the first conquests which we make, we will carry them across the sea." The Venetians were well pleased with the doge's proposition. Accordingly, they went to the camp of the pilgrims. When they came thither, the doge said to the crusaders: "Sires, we have agreed, I and my people, that if you are willing to guarantee faithfully to pay us the 36,000 marks, which you owe us, out of your share of the first conquests, we will carry you across the sea."

When the crusaders heard what the doge proposed they were very glad and fell at his feet for joy. They bound themselves very willingly to do faithfully what the doge had proposed. They were so joyous that night that there was no one so poor that he did not make a great illumination, and each one carried great torches made of candles on the end of his lance, both outside of the camp and inside, so that the whole army seemed intoxicated.

## II. *THE DIVERSION TO ZARA.*

According to Robert de Clari there were two separate propositions made by the doge; the one, given above, which was received so joyfully, and a second, given below, which was kept secret. Ville-Hardouin would have us understand that there was but one proposition, namely, to capture Zara. In fact, the official account given by Ville-Hardouin differs in many respects from the non-official versions of Robert, Gunther and others. Gunther, ch. vi, describes how unwilling many were to go to

Zara. The pope, who had learned something of the plan, protested vigorously against an attack on a Christian city. We see clearly from Ville-Hardouin's own account, given in the second extract, that there were many in the army opposed to the plan.

1. *The new agreement with the Venetians.*

Robert de Clari, xiii, in Hopf: *Chroniques*, p. 9. Old French.

Afterwards the doge came to the army and said: "Sirs, it is now winter, we cannot cross the sea, nor does this depend upon me. For I would have had you cross already, if it had not depended upon you. But let us do the best we can. There is a city near here, named Zara. The people of this city have done us much evil, and I and my men want to punish them, if we can. If you will take my advice, we will go there this winter and stay until Easter. Then we will make ready our navy and go to *Outre-mer* at Lady-day. The city of Zara is very rich and well supplied with all kinds of provisions." The barons and the nobles among the crusaders agreed to what the doge proposed. But no one in the army knew this plan, except the leaders.

2. *The capture of Zara.*

Ville-Hardouin, ch. xvii-xviii, Nos. 80-84, 86. Old French.

80. The day after the feast of St. Martin,<sup>1</sup> some people from Zara came to speak to the doge of Venice, who was in his tent. They said to him that they would surrender the city and all their property to his mercy, if their lives were spared. The doge said that he would not accept these or any other conditions without the advice of the counts and barons, and that he would go and discuss the matter with them.

81. While he went to talk to the counts and barons, that party, of which I have already spoken, who wanted to break up the army, said to the messengers: "Why do you want to surrender your city? The pilgrims will not attack you and you have nothing to fear from them. If you can defend yourselves against the Venetians, you need have no anxiety." And they sent one of them, Robert de Boves, who went to the walls of the city and announced the same thing. So the messengers returned to the city and the plan of surrender was given up.

82. The doge of Venice, when he came to the counts and barons, said to them: "Sirs, the people yonder want to surrender the city to my mercy, on condition that their lives be spared. But I will not make this agreement or any other without your advice." The barons

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 12, 1202.

replied: "Sire, we advise you to make this agreement and we pray you to do so." He said he would, and they all went back together to the doge's tent to make this agreement. They found that the messengers had gone away, following the advice of those who wanted to break up the army.

83. Then the abbot of Vaux of the order of Citeaux rose and said to them: "Sirs, I forbid you, in the name of the Pope at Rome, to attack this city; for the inhabitants are Christians and you are pilgrims." When the doge heard this he was much irritated and troubled. He said to the counts and barons: "Sirs, this city was practically in my power, and your people have taken it from me; you had promised that you would aid me in conquering it; now I require you to do so."

84. Then the counts and barons and those who belonged to their party held a conference and said: "Those who have prevented this agreement have committed a very great outrage, and it was not right for them to try to break up the army. Now we shall be disgraced, if we do not aid in capturing the city." They went to the doge and said to him: "Sire, we will aid you in capturing the city, in spite of those who wish to prevent it."

86. Accordingly the city was surrendered to the mercy of the doge of Venice, on condition that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared. Then the doge went to the counts and barons and said to them: "Sirs, we have conquered this city, by the grace of God and through your aid. It is now winter and we can not leave here until Easter. For we should find no provisions elsewhere; and this city is very rich and very well supplied with everything needful. Let us divide it accordingly into two parts; we will take one-half of it and you the other half."

### III. THE DIVERSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

Pears, in his preface and on pp. 267 ff, discusses the causes of the diversion and gives the most important references. But as he has formed his own conclusions and argues for his own belief, consult also

Tessier; *La Diversion sur Zara et Constantinople*. Paris, 1884.

Streit: *Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzuges gegen Constantinopel*. Anklam, 1877.

Winkelman: *Philip von Schwaben und Otto IV. von Braunschweig*, Vol. I. Leipzig, 1873. (*Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*.)

1. *The summons to Alexis.*

Robert de Clari, xvi-xvii, in Hopf: *Chroniques*, pp. 11-12. Old French.

XVI. In the meantime the crusaders and the Venetians remained at Zara during the winter. They considered how great the expense had been and said to one another that they could not go to Babylon or Alexandria or Syria; for they had neither provisions nor money for the journey. They had already used up everything they had, either during the sojourn that they had made or in the great price that they had paid for the vessels. They said that they could not go and, even if they should go, they would accomplish nothing; they had neither provisions nor money sufficient to support them.

XVII. The doge of Venice saw clearly that the pilgrims were ill at ease. He addressed them, saying: "Sirs, Greece is a very rich land and bountifully supplied with everything. If we can find a sufficient excuse for going there and taking food and other things, so as to recuperate ourselves, it would seem to me advisable, and then we could easily go across the sea." Then the marquis<sup>1</sup> rose and said: "Sir, I was in Germany at the emperor's<sup>2</sup> court last Christmas. There I saw a young man who was the emperor's brother in law.<sup>3</sup> This young man was the son of the emperor *Kyrsac*<sup>4</sup> of Constantinople from whom his brother had taken the empire of Constantinople by treason. Whoever could get this young man," said the marquis, "could certainly go to the land of Constantinople and take provisions and other things; for this young man is the rightful heir."

2. *The proposition made by King Philip.*

Ville-Hardouin, ch. xix-xx, Nos. 91-99. Old French.

91. . . . "My lords, king Philip sends us to you and sends also the son of the emperor of Constantinople, who is his wife's brother.

92. "My lords, says the king, I shall send you my wife's brother; I place him in the hands of God (may He preserve him from death!), and in your hands. Since you are fighting for God, for the right and for justice, you ought, if it lies in your power, to restore to their

<sup>1</sup> Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, the leader of the crusaders.

<sup>2</sup> Philip of Suabia.

<sup>3</sup> Alexis IV., brother of the queen Irene.

<sup>4</sup> Isaac (II.) Angelos.

inheritance those who have been wrongfully dispossessed. He [Alexis] will make with you the best agreement which has ever been made by any one, and he will give you the most powerful aid in conquering the land of *Outre-mer*.

93. "In the first place, if God permits you to restore him to his inheritance, he will put all the empire of Romania under the obedience of Rome, from which it has been separated for a long time. In the second place, he knows that you have spent your property and that you are poor; he will give you 200,000 marks of silver and provisions for all the members of the army, humble and noble. He will himself go with you to the land of Babylon or will send thither with you (if you think it better) 10,000 men at his expense. This service he will perform for you during one year. And so long as he lives, he will maintain at his own expense 500 knights in the land of *Outre-mer*, to guard the land.<sup>1</sup>

94. "My lords, we have full power," said the messengers, "to make this agreement, if you wish to do so. And be sure that such a fine offer was never made to any one, and he who refuses this can have no great desire to conquer." The leaders said that they would discuss the matter, and an assembly was appointed for the next day. When the host had assembled this offer was presented to them.

95. There it was hotly discussed, "pro and con." The abbot of Vaux of the order of Citeaux and the party that wanted to break up the army said that they would not agree to it; it was fighting against Christians; they had not set out for this purpose, but they wanted to go to Syria.

96. The other party replied: "Good sirs, in Syria you can do nothing, you can see that clearly from those who have left us and gone to other ports. You know that it is through the land of Babylon or through Greece that the land of *Outre-mer* will be reconquered, if it is ever recovered. If we refuse this offer, we shall always be ashamed."

97. The army was in discord just as you have heard. And do not wonder that the laymen could not agree; for the white monks of the order of Citeaux in the army were also in discord. The abbot of Loos, who was a very holy and excellent man, and the other abbots who agreed with him, preached to the people and cried out to them

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<sup>1</sup> For other terms offered, omitted by Ville-Hardouin, see Pears, 281; see also p. 11, below.

to have mercy, saying that, for God's sake, they ought to keep the army together and to make this agreement; "for it is the best means of recovering the land of *Outre-mer*." And the abbot of Vaux in his turn, and those who agreed with him, preached very frequently and said that that was all wrong; that they ought to go to the land of Syria and do what they could.

98. Then the marquis Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, count Louis and count Hugh of St. Pol and those who belonged to their party went and said that they would make this agreement; for they would be ashamed to refuse it. So they went to the doge's lodging and the messengers were summoned. They concluded the agreement, just as you have heard it above, by their oaths and by sealed compacts.

99. And in regard to this matter, the book tells you that there were only twelve of the French who made their oaths; and they could not get any more. Of these, the first was the marquis of Montferrat, count Baldwin of Flanders, count Louis of Blois and Chartres, the count of St. Pol, and eight others who agreed with them. So the compact was made, the securities given, and the time fixed when the heir of Constantinople should come; it was to be a fortnight after Easter.

3. *The discussion after the arrival of Alexis.*

Robert de Clari, xxxiii, in Hopf: *Chroniques*, p. 24. Old French.

Then all the barons of the army and the Venetians were summoned. When they had all assembled, the doge of Venice rose and said to them: "My lords, we have now a sufficient excuse for going to Constantinople, if you think it wise, for we have the lawful heir." Now some who did not want to go to Constantinople, spoke thus: "Bah! what are we going to do at Constantinople? We have our pilgrimage to make and intend to go to Babylon or Alexandria. Our ships are rented for only one year and the year is already half over."

The others said in reply: "What are we going to do at Babylon or Alexandria, since we have neither provisions nor money enough to go? It is better to go where we have a sufficient excuse for obtaining money and provisions by conquest, than to go where we shall die of hunger. Then we can do it, and he offers to go with us and to pay for our ships and our navy another year at his own expense." And the marquis of Montferrat did all in his power to urge our going to

Constantinople, because he wished to take vengeance for a wrong which the emperor of Constantinople had done him.

#### IV. *THE DIFFICULTIES WITH ALEXIS.*

It had been very easy for Alexis in exile to make great promises. When his father was replaced on the throne and he himself was crowned co-emperor, they found it absolutely impossible to fulfill the conditions which Alexis had offered, and to which Isaac had been obliged to agree.

##### 1. *The first payment.*

Robert de Clari, lvi, in Hopf: *Chroniques*, pp. 46-47. Old French.

Afterwards all the barons assembled one day at the palace of the emperor<sup>1</sup> and demanded of him their pay. He replied that he would pay them, but he wished first to be crowned. Accordingly they made preparations and set a day for the coronation. On that day he was crowned emperor with due ceremony, with the consent of his father, who willingly granted it. After he had been crowned the barons demanded their pay. He said he would very willingly pay what he could and at that time he paid 100,000 marks. Of this sum the Venetians received one-half; for they were to receive one-half of the conquests. Of the 50,000 which remained, 36,000, which the Franks still owed for the vessels, were paid to the Venetians. And all those who had advanced money to pay for the passage were paid out of the 14,000 marks which the pilgrims had left.

##### 2. *The public defiance.*

Ville-Hardouin, ch. xlvi, Nos. 212-215. Old French.

212. They dismounted from their horses at the gate, entered the palace and found the emperor Alexis and the emperor Isaac, his father, seated upon two thrones, side by side. Near them was seated the empress, who was the father's wife, the son's step-mother, and the sister of the king of Hungary; a beautiful and good lady. A great number of nobles were with them; and it certainly seemed the court of a rich prince.

213. According to the agreement with the other messengers,<sup>2</sup> Conon of Bethune, who was very rich and very eloquent, spoke: "Sire, we have been sent to you by the barons of the army and by the doge of

<sup>1</sup> Alexis. The crusaders rarely speak of Isaac as emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Ville-Hardouin was one of the messengers.

Venice. Know that they reproach you because of the great service which they have done you, which everybody knows and which is apparent to you. You have sworn to them, you and your father, to keep the agreement that you have made with them; and they have your written compact. You have not kept your agreement with them as you ought.

214. "They have summoned you many times, and we summon you in their name, before all your barons, to keep the agreement which you have made with them. If you do so, all will be well; if you do not keep it, know that in the future they will consider you neither as lord nor as friend; but they will try to get their rights in any way they can. They announce to you that they would injure neither you, nor any one else, before the defiance; for they have never acted treasonably, and in their country it is not the custom to do so. You have heard what we have said to you and you can do as you please."

215. The Greeks marveled much at this defiance and great insult. They said that no one had ever been so bold before as to defy the emperor of Constantinople in his own halls. The emperor Alexis looked savagely at the messengers, and so did all the Greeks, though they had on many occasions in the past looked very friendly.

3. *The Doge's threat.*

Robert de Clari, lix, in Hopf: *Chroniques*, pp. 48-49. Old French.

At these words the barons left the palace and returned to their camp. After returning they deliberated upon the course to follow. Meanwhile they sent two knights to the emperor and demanded again that he should pay them. He replied to the messengers that he would pay nothing, he had already paid too much, and that he was not afraid of any one. He also commanded them to go away and leave his land; they were to understand that if they did not depart, he would injure them. Then the messengers went back and told the barons the emperor's reply. When the barons heard this, they deliberated as to what they should do. The doge said that he wanted to speak to the emperor.

He sent a messenger to demand that the emperor should come to the harbor to speak to him. The emperor went on horseback. The doge prepared four armed galleys; he went in one and took the other three for protection. When he was near the shore he saw the emperor who had come on horseback. He addressed the latter as follows:

"Alexis, what do you think you are going to do? Remember we have raised you from a very humble estate. We have made you lord and crowned you emperor. Will you not keep your agreement with us and will you not do more?" "No," replied the emperor, "I will not do anything more." "No?" said the doge, "wretched boy, we have raised you from the mire,<sup>1</sup> and we will throw you into the mire again; and be sure that I will do you all the injury that I can, from this time on."

#### V. THE SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

In spite of the previous dissensions the crusaders were practically compelled to act as a unit in the final attack on Constantinople. Some of those who had been most opposed to the diversion of the expedition had left the army. The argument employed by the bishops in the first extract seems to have removed doubts still lingering in the minds of many.

The compact of division was made before the capture of the city. Ville-Hardouin's account is followed because it is accurate and brief. The text is given in Migne: *Patrologiae*, Vol. 215, Col. 517-519, and is reprinted in Tessier: *Diversión sur Zara et Constantinople*. For further particulars see Pears, 337, ff.

The account of the sack, given by Nicetas, is not exaggerated, as is proved by the letters of Innocent III. (especially Bk. viii, Ep. 133), and the statement of many other contemporaries; see Riant: *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, passim. We regret that we have not space for other extracts from Nicetas, such as his account of how he saved his future bride when she was being carried off by a crusader; his description of the statues that were destroyed (Pears, p. 355, translates his account of Helen), and many other picturesque passages. Gibbon, Ch. LX, can still be read with profit. Wilken: *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Vol. V, gives a long account of the destruction of the works of art in the "*Beylagen*." References might be indefinitely multiplied, but Riant: *Exuviae* contains the most important.

The last two extracts are added because they show so fully the feelings of the age and give some indication of the immense quantity of relics brought from Constantinople.

##### 1. *The sermons before the final attack on Constantinople.*

Robert de Clari, ch. lxxii-lxxiii, in Hopf: *Chroniques*, pp. 57-58. Old French.

LXXII. When the pilgrims saw this,<sup>2</sup> they were very angry and grieved much; they went back from the other side of the harbor to their lodgings. When the barons had returned and had gotten ashore, they assembled and were much amazed, and said that it was on account of their sins that they did not succeed in anything and could not capture the city. Meanwhile the bishops and the clergy in the

<sup>1</sup> A coarse expression in the original.

<sup>2</sup> That the attack was repulsed.

army debated and decided that the war was a righteous one, and that they certainly ought to attack the Greeks. For formerly the inhabitants of the city had been obedient to the law of Rome and now they were disobedient, since they said that the law of Rome was of no account, and called all who believed in it "dogs." And the bishops said that for this reason one ought certainly to attack them, and that it was not a sin, but an act of great charity.

LXXIII. Then it was announced to all the host that all the Venetians and every one else should go and hear the sermons on Sunday morning;<sup>1</sup> and they did so. Then the bishops preached to the army, the bishop of Soissons, the bishop of Troyes, the bishop of *Havestaist*<sup>2</sup> master Jean Faicette,<sup>3</sup> and the abbot of Loos, and they showed to the pilgrims that the war was a righteous one; for the Greeks were traitors and murderers, and also disloyal, since they had murdered their rightful lord, and were worse than Jews. Moreover, the bishops said that, by the authority of God and in the name of the pope, they would absolve ail who attacked the Greeks. Then the bishops commanded the pilgrims to confess their sins and receive the communion devoutly; and said that they ought not to hesitate to attack the Greeks, for the latter were enemies of God. They also commanded that all the evil women should be sought out and sent away from the army to a distant place. This was done; the evil women were all put on a vessel and were sent very far away from the army.

2. *The compact of division.*

Ville-Hardouin, ch. li, Nos. 234-235. Old French.

234. Then the members of the host debated and consulted upon the best course to pursue. The discussion was long and stormy, but the following was the result of the deliberation: If God granted that they should capture the city, all the booty that was taken should be brought together and divided fairly, as was fitting. And, if they captured the city, six<sup>4</sup> men should be chosen from the Franks<sup>5</sup> and six from the Venetians; these were to take oath upon relics that they

<sup>1</sup> Apr. 11, 1204.

<sup>2</sup> Halberstadt.

<sup>3</sup> De Noyon, chancellor of Baldwin of Flanders.

<sup>4</sup> Robert de Clari says ten.

<sup>5</sup> A collective name for all the crusaders.

would elect as emperor him whom they should judge to be the most useful for the good of the land. And he whom they chose as emperor should have one-quarter of all the conquests both in the city and outside ; and in addition he should have the palace of the Lion's mouth and of Blachern. The other three-quarters should be divided into two parts, one-half for the Venetians and one-half for the crusaders. Then twelve from the wisest of the army of the pilgrims and twelve of the Venetians should be chosen to divide the fiefs and the offices among the men and to define the feudal service which each one owed to the emperor.

235. This compact was guaranteed and sworn to both by the Franks and the Venetians, with the condition that any one who wished could go away within one year from the end of March. Those who remained in the country must perform the feudal service to the emperor, as it might be arranged. Then the compact was made and sworn to and all who should not keep it were excommunicated by the clergy.

3. *Account of the sack.*

Nicetas: Alexii Ducae Imperium, ch. iii-iv, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, hist. grec., I, 397. Greek.

3. . . . How shall I begin to tell of the deeds wrought by these nefarious men ! Alas, the images, which ought to have been adored, were trodden under foot ! Alas, the relics of the holy martyrs were thrown into unclean places ! Then was seen what one shudders to hear, namely, the divine body and blood of Christ was spilled upon the ground or thrown about. They snatched the precious reliquaries, thrust into their bosoms the ornaments which these contained, and used the broken remnants for pans and drinking cups,—precursors of Anti-christ, authors and heralds of his nefarious deeds which we momentarily expect. Manifestly, indeed, by that race then, just as formerly, Christ was robbed and insulted and His garments were divided by lot ; only one thing was lacking, that His side, pierced by a spear, should pour rivers of divine blood on the ground.

Nor can the violation of the Great Church<sup>1</sup> be listened to with equanimity. For the sacred altar, formed of all kinds of precious materials and admired by the whole world, was broken into bits and distributed among the soldiers, as was all the other sacred wealth of so great and infinite splendor.

<sup>1</sup> St. Sophia.

When the sacred vases and utensils of unsurpassable art and grace and rare material, and the fine silver, wrought with gold, which encircled the screen of the tribunal and the ambo, of admirable workmanship, and the door and many other ornaments, were to be borne away as booty, mules and saddled horses were led to the very sanctuary of the temple. Some of these which were unable to keep their footing on the splendid and slippery pavement, were stabbed when they fell, so that the sacred pavement was polluted with blood and filth.

4. Nay more, a certain harlot, a sharer in their guilt, a minister of the furies, a servant of the demons, a worker of incantations and poisonings, insulting Christ, sat in the patriarch's seat, singing an obscene song and dancing frequently. Nor, indeed, were these crimes committed and others left undone, on the ground that these were of lesser guilt, the others of greater. But with one consent all the most heinous sins and crimes were committed by all with equal zeal. Could those, who showed so great madness against God Himself, have spared the honorable matrons and maidens or the virgins consecrated to God?

Nothing was more difficult and laborious than to soften by prayers, to render benevolent, these wrathful barbarians, vomiting forth bile at every unpleasing word, so that nothing failed to inflame their fury. Whoever attempted it was derided as insane and a man of intemperate language. Often they drew their daggers against any one who opposed them at all or hindered their demands.

No one was without a share in the grief. In the alleys, in the streets, in the temples, complaints, weeping, lamentations, grief, the groaning of men, the shrieks of women, wounds, rape, captivity, the separation of those most closely united. Nobles wandered about ignominiously, those of venerable age in tears, the rich in poverty. Thus it was in the streets, on the corners, in the temple, in the dens, for no place remained unassailed or defended the suppliants. All places everywhere were filled full of all kinds of crime. Oh, immortal God, how great the afflictions of the men, how great the distress!

4. *Abbot Martin's theft of relics.*

Gunther: *Historia Constantinopolitana*, ch. xix, in Riant: *Exuviae*, Vol. I, 104 ff. Latin.

While the victors were rapidly plundering the conquered city, which was theirs by right of conquest, the abbot Martin began to cogitate

about his own share of the booty, and lest he alone should remain empty-handed, while all the others became rich, he resolved to seize upon plunder with his own sacred hands. But, since he thought it not meet to handle any booty of worldly things with those sacred hands, he began to plan how he might secure some portion of the relics of the saints, of which he knew there was a great quantity in the city.

Accordingly, having a presentiment of some great result, he took with him one of his two chaplains and went to a church<sup>1</sup> which was held in great reverence because in it the mother<sup>2</sup> of the most famous emperor Manuel<sup>3</sup> had a noble grave, which seemed of importance to the Greeks, but ours held for naught. There a very great amount of money brought in from all the surrounding country was stored, and also precious relics which the vain hope of security had caused them to bring in from the neighboring churches and monasteries. Those whom the Greeks had driven out, had told us of this before the capture of the city. When many pilgrims broke into this church and some were eagerly engaged in stealing gold and silver, others precious stones, Martin, thinking it unbecoming to commit sacrilege except in a holy cause, sought a more retired spot where the very sanctity of the place seemed to promise that what he desired might be found.

There he found an aged man of agreeable countenance, having a long and hoary beard, a priest, but very unlike our priests in his dress. Thinking him a layman, the abbot, though inwardly calm, threatened him with a very ferocious voice, saying: "Come, perfidious old man, show me the most powerful relics you have, or you shall die immediately." The latter, terrified by the sound rather than the words, since he heard but did not understand what was said, and knowing that Martin could not speak Greek, began in the *Romana lingua*, of which he knew a little, to entreat Martin and by soft words to turn away the latter's wrath, which in truth did not exist. In reply, the abbot succeeded in getting out a few words of the same language, sufficient to make the old man understand what he wanted. The latter, observing Martin's face and dress, and thinking it more tolerable that a religious man should handle the sacred relics with fear and reverence, than that worldly men should, perchance, pollute them with

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<sup>1</sup> The church of Pantokrator.

<sup>2</sup> Irene, died 1124.

<sup>3</sup> Manuel (I.) Komnenos.

their worldly hands, opened a chest bound with iron and showed the desired treasure, which was more grateful and pleasing to Martin than all the royal wealth of Greece. The abbot hastily and eagerly thrust in both hands and working quickly, filled with the fruits of the sacri-lege both his own and his chaplain's bosom. He wisely concealed what seemed the most valuable and departed without opposition.

Moreover what and how worthy of veneration those relics which the holy robber appropriated were, is told more fully at the end of this work.<sup>1</sup> When he was hastening to his vessel, so stuffed full, if I may use the expression, those who knew and loved him, saw him from their ships as they were themselves hastening to the booty, and inquired joyfully whether he had stolen anything, or with what he was so loaded down as he walked. With a joyful countenance, as always, and with pleasant words he said: "We have done well." To which they replied: "Thanks be to God."

5. *List of relics stolen by Abbot Martin.*

Gunther, ch. xxiv, in Riant: *Exuviae*, Vol. I, p. 120 ff.

Therefore "Blessed be the Lord God, who only doeth wondrous things," who in His unspeakable kindness and mercy has looked upon and made glorious His church at Paris<sup>2</sup> through certain gifts of His grace, which he deigned to transmit to us through the venerable man, already so frequently mentioned, abbot Martin. In the presence of these the church exults and by their protection any soul faithful to God is aided and assisted. In order that the readers' trust in these may be strengthened, we have determined to give a partial list.

First, of the highest importance and worthy of all veneration: A trace of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for the redemption of all mankind.

Second, a piece of the cross of our Lord on which the Son of the Father, the new Adam, sacrificed for us, paid the debt of the old Adam.

Third, a not inconsiderable piece of St. John, the fore-runner of our Lord.

Fourth, the arm of St. James, the Apostle, whose memory is venerated by the whole church.

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<sup>1</sup> See number 5.

<sup>2</sup> In upper Elsass.

There were also relics of the other saints, whose names are as follows :

Christopher, the martyr.

George, the martyr.

Theodore, the martyr.

The foot of St. Cosmas, the martyr.

Part of the head of Cyprian, the martyr.

Pantaleon, the martyr.

A tooth of St. Lawrence.

Demetrius, the martyr.

Stephen, the proto-martyr.

Vincentius, Adjutus, Mauritius and his companions.

Crisantius and Darius, the martyrs.

Gervasius and Protasius, the martyrs.

Primus, the martyr.

Sergius and Bacchus, the martyrs.

Protus, the martyr.

John and Paul, the martyrs.

Also relics from the following : the place of the Nativity of our Lord ; Calvary ; our Lord's sepulchre ; the stone rolled away ; the place of our Lord's ascension ; the stone on which John stood when he baptized the Lord ; the spot where Christ raised Lazarus ; the stone on which Christ was presented in the temple ; the stone on which Jacob slept ; the stone where Christ fasted ; the stone where Christ prayed ; the table on which Christ ate the supper ; the place where He was captured ; the place where the mother of our Lord died ; His grave ; the grave of St. Peter, the apostle ; the relics of the holy apostles, Andrew and Philip ; the place where the Lord gave the law to Moses ; the holy patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob ; St. Nicholas, the bishop ; Adelasius, the bishop ; Agricius, the bishop ; John Chrysostom ; John, the almsgiver ; the milk of the mother of our Lord ; Margaret, the virgin ; Perpetua, the virgin ; Agatha, the virgin ; Agnes, the virgin ; Lucia, the virgin ; Cecilia, the virgin ; Adelgundis and Euphemia, the virgins.

Written and sealed—in this year of our Lord's Incarnation, 1205, in the reign of Philip, king of the Romans, Innocent the supreme pontiff presiding over the holy Roman church,—under the direction of the bishops Lutholdus of Basel and Henry of Strassburg.

VI. *ATTITUDE OF INNOCENT III.*

This has given rise to much discussion. He was very anxious for a new crusade, and offered large privileges (see Ville-Hardouin, ch. I, No. 2). He wrote, "If men perish, if the churches are weakened, if the poor are oppressed, . . . all this is of less consequence than the loss of Palestine."<sup>1</sup> But he seems to have mistrusted the Venetians (see Gesta Inn., No. 84), and did not heartily approve of the arrangements made. He felt very indignant at the capture of Zara; "Satan has impelled you to turn your swords against a Christian people." "You have offered to the devil the first fruits of your pilgrimage." He excommunicated all who took part in the capture and released the crusaders from the ban only under necessity. The Venetians were still excommunicated. He commanded them not to go to Constantinople, and was extremely indignant at the first attack on that city. Even after the final capture of Constantinople and the restoration of the Greek church to obedience to Rome, he seems to have regretted the failure of the crusade. He continues his reproaches, although he seems to have believed that the divine Providence had miraculously used the deeds of sinful men for its own good purpose.

In addition to Pears' account consult:

Hurter: *Geschichte Pabst Innocenz III. und seiner Zeitgenossen*, 4 vols. Hamburg, 1834-1842.

Tessier: *La Diversion sur Zara et Constantinople*.

1. *Crusaders to stay at Constantinople.*

Epistolæ, Bk. viii, No. 63, in Tessier: *Diversion*, etc., pp. 235-6. Latin.

To all the clergy and people in the Christian army at Constantinople.

If the Lord had granted the desires of His humble servants sooner, and had transferred, as He has now done, the empire of Constantinople from the Greeks to the Latins before the fall of the Holy Land, perhaps Christianity would not be weeping to-day over the desolation of the land of Jerusalem. Since, therefore, through the wonderful transference of this empire God has deigned to open to you a way to recover that land, and the detention of this may lead to the restoration of that, we advise and exhort you all, and we enjoin upon you for the remission of your sins, to remain for a year in Romania, in order to strengthen the empire in its devotion to the Apostolic See and to us, and in order to retain it in the power of the Latins; and to give wise advice and efficient aid to Baldwin, our most beloved son in Christ, the illustrious emperor of Constantinople; unless, perchance, your presence in the Holy Land should be necessary before that time, in which case you ought to hasten to guard it before the year elapses.

Dated, . . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pears, 226.

<sup>2</sup> Potthast: *Regesta pont. Rom.*, No. 2507, gives date as possibly May 20, 1205.

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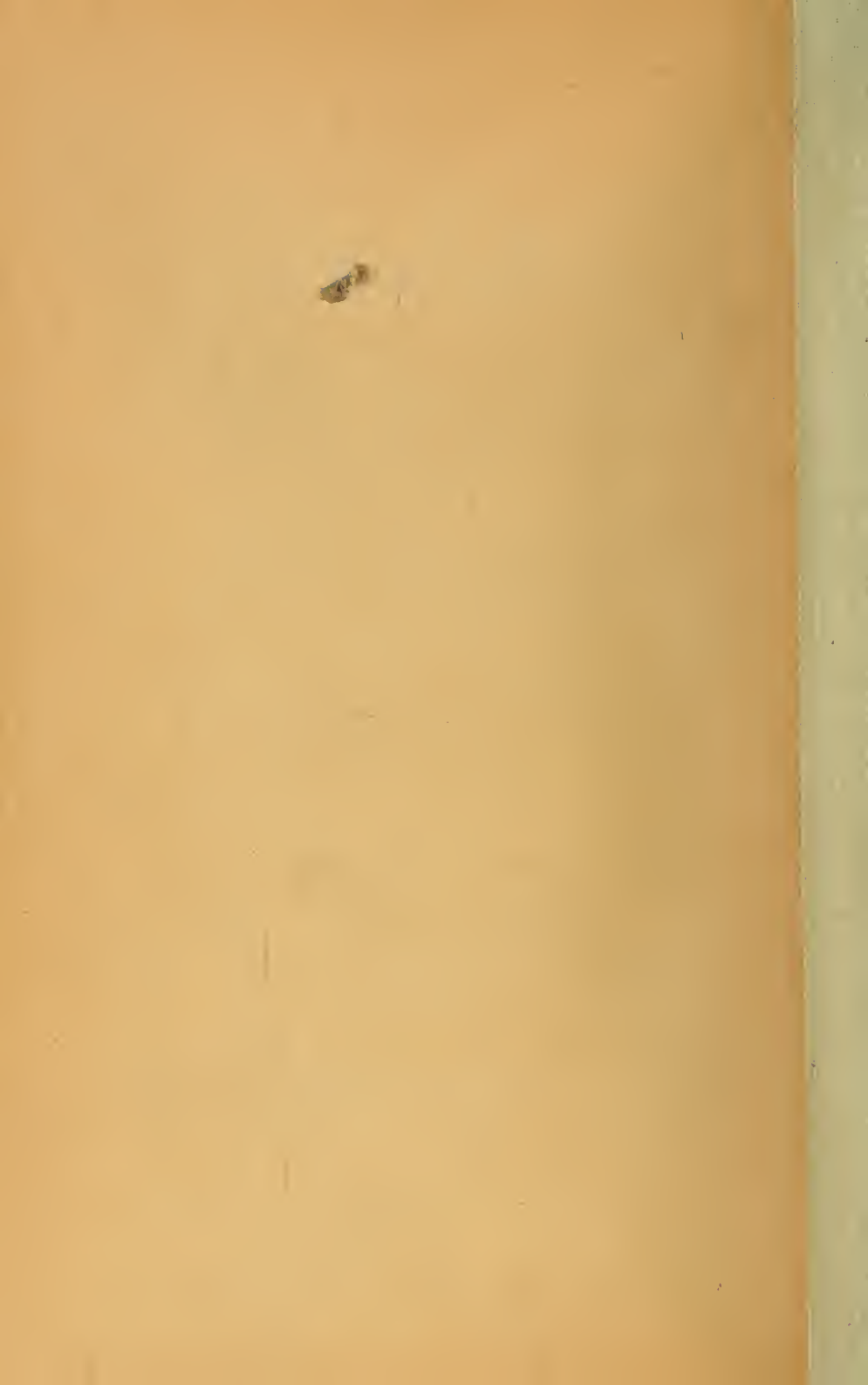
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